

VISIONS

CULTURAL CONFERENCE ON SOUTH AFRICA

DAY TWO

SUNDAY 24TH JANUARY 1993

10.30 Coffee / Tea

11.00 **The arts and the process of healing for survivors of Apartheid**
Chair: Nozipho Bardill

Lillian Cingo
Monty Berman
Lindiwe Mthembu
Peter Speyer

11.40 **Discussion**

12.30 L U N C H

1.30 **New Art Forms in a changing society**
Chair: Liz Gunner

Pitika Ntuli
Joyoti Grech
Joyce Rankin
Wangui Wa Goro

2.00 **Discussion**

3.00 B R E A K

3.15 **Funding the Arts - lessons for the future**
Chair:

Tony Fields
Susan Okokon
Julia Rowntree

3.45 **Discussion**

4.45 **Closing Remarks**

5.00 C L O S E

For ARIB

DISCOURSE

For Nigeria to survive

BY YUSUFU BALA USMAN

NIGERIAN independence was not won through political struggle conducted by the ethnic groups and nationalities who constituted colonial Nigeria. Nigeria became a sovereign polity because of the struggle for independence waged by NIGERIAN organisations, within the broader context of the Pan-African independence struggle and indeed the struggle of the colonised and oppressed peoples for national liberation all over the world. Within Nigeria it was the Nigerian Trade Union Congress, the Nigerian Youth movement, the Nigeria Students Union and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, and its off-shoots, who led and conducted this struggle. Ethnic and tribalist organisations were used to undermine this struggle and weaken the momentum towards greater national cohesion.

The constitutional conferences, which were convened because of the independence struggle by these Nigerian organisations, included regional and sub-regional political parties, but none of these conferences was, either implicitly, or explicitly, organised as a conclave of representatives of ethnic groups or nationalities to agree on a covenant creating the Nigerian Federation. The dimensions of class, social strata, occupation, territoriality, and political ideology, were far more important in determining the composition and goals of the political parties and political pressure groups of that period, than the differences in ethnic origin and nationality, no matter how broadly defined.

The primary sources of our history record that the very fluid boundaries of the ethnic groups of Nigeria, even before the 18th century, were very rarely coterminous with the boundaries of the polities. Intensive migration, extensive networks of division of labour and commerce, did not allow for the emergence of ethnically monolithic polities.

One of the most important lessons of our historical experience is that the kingdoms, chiefdoms, city-states, and village confederations which the British conquered were not sovereign, ethnic, or even sub-ethnic political blocs, which can now be resurrected into existence to bring the Federation of Nigeria to an end and create new polities on its ruins. There were no

Urhobo polity or polities which can be resurrected if the Federation of Nigeria is dismembered; there were no Yoruba, Hausa-Fulani, or Ogoni polity or polities which can be resurrected if the Nigerian Federation is brought to an end. Neither was there a single Muslim polity or even sets of muslim polities at peace with one another among the polities of pre-colonial Nigeria. The facts of the historical experiences of the peoples of Nigeria contradict the claim that the Federation of Nigeria is a polity constituted by distinct, and distinctly identifiable ethnic groups which can, validly, as distinct entities, exercise the right of self-determination. In fact, many of the entities on whose behalf this right is claimed had no common name and identity before the twentieth century. The conflicts and wars between the

This federation... has many very serious limitations and weakness.

various polities among them facilitated the British invasion and conquest. The names of Yoruba, Igbo, Urhobo, Idoma, Ogoni, Hausa-Fulani, as applied today, were produced by the historical experience of colonial domination and the process of decolonisation in the twentieth century.

The Federation of Nigeria did not come into existence because some tribal chieftains sat over kolanuts, tea, or palm wine, to agree to establish it. The polities of pre-colonial Nigeria were weakened by internal and external forces and processes which led to the British conquest and the complete loss of their sovereignty. By the late 19th Century, it was clear that, in the world order that was emerging, they were no longer viable; they could not exercise the right of self-determination.

The British conquered all of them and they destroyed their sovereignty. Their citizens, no matter how indigenous, became colonial subjects with no rights over the land they had. This conquest was not the result of some magical act; it was the product of the historical limitation of these polities in the economic, military, cultural and political circumstances of the World in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

These polities, and the sovereign rights they had, in territoriality and citizenry, were demolished. These rights were not resurrected on October 1, 1960, because what was won on that day were the rights of the new sovereign polity of the Federation of Nigeria.

This federation as it exists now, has many very serious limitations and weaknesses. These are widely recognised and have become severe in these closing decades of the twentieth century. At the core of the causes of the limitations is the reality of the powerlessness of the ordinary people of Nigeria, of all the nationalities and sub-nationalities, all over the country. To tackle these limitations and weaknesses, the ordinary people have to empower themselves and take control through popular democratic institutions of their human and natural resources. This can most effectively be done before the end of this century by the building of powerful democratic and national political parties, trade unions, senior staff associations and other nationwide civil organisations and associations; and by creating and developing Community Assemblies and Community Councils as the fourth tier of government to supervise and make all the other three tiers of government more accountable in a direct way.

In the context of the world in the 20th century, the people of the Federation of Nigeria itself have to not only forge their unity and build genuine organs of popular democratic power in order to exercise their right to self-determination; but actually have to further integrate themselves into large West African and African polities. The survival of the peoples of the Federation of Nigeria in the 21st century can only be assured on the basis of the Federation of Nigeria serving as one of the cornerstones of rapid and systematic West African and African integration at the ecological, military, cultural and political levels. That is the most important lesson of the historical experiences of our peoples. *

* Excerpted from a paper 'The Federation of Nigeria and the Lessons of the Historical Experiences of the Peoples of Nigeria' delivered at a conference on federalism in Abuja last week.

* Dr. Yusufu Bala Usman teaches history at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

Sponsors include

Cllr Neelam Bakshi, Maryhill/Summerston (Labour); Glynis Borthwick, EIS National Council; Kathleen Burns, Past President, Dumbarton EIS; Rosemary Byrne, Chair Irvine Trades Council; Communist Party of Scotland; CPSA DNS Cowglen Branch; CPSA Glasgow South Branch Employment Sector; Dunbar RMT; Kenny Craig, RMT National Executive; Bob Crow, RMT Asst General Secretary; Edinburgh & Eastern District RMT; Edinburgh RMT No 1 Branch; Jeanette Findlay, Economist, Glasgow University/Scottish Labour Cmte on Ireland; George Galloway MP (Labour); Grangemouth RMT; Ray Gunnion, EIS National Council; Janice Godrich, CPSA Employment Service Sector Executive Cmte; Tommy Gorman, Clydeside Action on Asbestos; Hamilton UNISON No 1 Branch; John Hargeaves, UNISON Gas Rep - STUC Energy Cmte/SNP Dep Energy Spokesperson; Carol Heron, UNISON, Strathclyde Equal Opportunities Officer; Peter Hunter, Irvine & District Trades Council; Alan Kane, FBU; James Kane, Dumbarton EIS; Inverkeithing RMT; Liberation; Ian McAlman EIS National Executive; Ann MacDonald, EIS National Council; Ronnie McDonald, OILC General Secretary; Phil McGarry, RMT Scottish Organiser; Jean McKenzie, Scottish Green Party; Ann McNair, UNISON/SNP Executive; Kenny McLachlan, Hon President Scottish Tennants Organisation; Kevin McVey, IRSF Cumbernauld; John Miller, IRSF Cumbernauld; Methill RMT Branch; John Milligan, RMT; Portobello RMT; Alan Pottage RMT National Executive; Bill Ramsay, Lanarkshire EIS; David Sutherland, Maryhill CLP; Scottish Militant Labour; Scottish Socialist Movement; Roona Simpson; Alex Smith MEP, South of Scotland (Labour); Tony Southall, Secretary Scottish Labour CND; Thornton RMT; Richie Venton, SML Industrial Organiser; Martin Welsh, IRSF Cumbernauld; Arthur West, Irvine Poverty Action Group; Richard Whyte, Tayside TGWU; Geoff Whittam, Economist Glasgow University; Danny Williamson, CPSA Nat Executive.

Individuals in a personal capacity.

About the campaign

The campaign aims to build support for a future Scottish Parliament to take the bold step of adopting shorter hours and worksharing as an important way to end unemployment. We also believe that pay and conditions in work should be legally protected to help end poverty. We recognise that this challenges current orthodoxy but we believe it to be in line with radical thinking elsewhere in Europe.

Britain is the only European Union (EU) country not to accept the European Directive on Working Time which, on Health & Safety grounds, bans employees from working more than 48 hours a week. Also, the rest of the EU at least has the benefit of the Social Chapter whilst the British Government fights to avoid any responsibility for exploitation. Before the 1994 European Elections many European Socialist/Social Democratic parties were for a European manifesto which set a 4-day week as a goal. Unfortunately, this did not find an echo at home.

In 1991, over 25% of full time workers in this country worked more than 46 hours per week. In the EU, only Ireland and Greece had comparable figures over 10%, with the rest of the EU around 5%. With the new technologies at our disposal there is no rational reason for people having to work longer hours while millions are on the dole.

Academic studies in France indicate that moving to a 35 hour week would create around 2 million jobs over 3 years. Here, the number of new jobs could be even more due to our current higher average hours. This would not even have to be met with a corresponding fall in productivity. During the miners strike in 1974 the Tories imposed a '3 day week' to conserve energy - and productivity actually rose!

Join with us to campaign for shorter working hours, better conditions, more people in work and an end to unemployment and poverty to be priorities for a future Scottish Parliament.

Scottish Campaign for a

35 hour
Working Week

for
an
end to
unemployment

Arthur Scargill, President NUM:

"What is needed in Scotland and throughout the UK is a four day working week with no loss of pay, elimination of all non-essential overtime, and voluntary retirement at 55 on full pay. These measures would create full employment overnight, release the latent talents of those who retire voluntarily, and save Britain as a whole over £20 billion a year."

January '95

Motion passed by UNISON Scottish Council:

"This Council believes that full employment must be a central aim of the trade union movement, of government and a future Scottish Parliament.

Council recognises that a reduction in the working week for full time workers, without loss of pay, has a crucial part to play in the achievement of full employment.

Council therefore resolves to campaign for a programme which would include:-

- * A maximum basic working week of 35 hours without loss of pay.
- * A planned and phased introduction of work sharing to create more jobs. Council believes that a 4 day week should be the aim by early next century." February '95

*** CAMPAIGN STATEMENT ***

We demand the creation of a Scottish Parliament which will, as an immediate priority, legislate for a shorter working week and a minimum wage as part of a programme to end unemployment and poverty. We call for the following measures to be adopted:

- * A maximum basic working week of 35 hours without loss of pay to be implemented immediately.
 - * A phased introduction of worksharing without loss of pay. A target set for early next century of a basic 4-day week, with more workers employed to maintain production and services.
 - * Workers on irregular shift patterns, such as offshore oil & gas and many service workers, to have a corresponding fall in working time.
 - * A ban on systematic overtime work. Flexible hours - to be agreed by the workforce, not imposed by management
 - * End employment discrimination against people on the basis of race, creed, or sexual orientation. Positive action for firms to recruit disabled workers
 - * Real jobs for young people. A reintroduction of apprenticeships.
 - * Full legal rights for part-time workers. Positive rights to training and maternity/paternity leave for all. For the right to belong to a trade union.
 - * For the provision of workplace creches. For improved before and after school child care provision.
 - * A minimum wage based on the European Threshold of Decency (twothirds median male wages). Parity pay for women. No wage constraint.
- We would also support such measures for England and Wales. Indeed, we believe a coordinated European-wide campaign should be developed to secure a shorter working week as part of a European initiative to end unemployment and poverty.

**Add your name
to the
shorter working week
campaign:**

Please add my/our name to the campaign

Name _____

Address _____

Organisation _____

Telephone _____

Personal capacity Donation

Send the following number of leaflets

Names of other individuals and/or organisations who may support the campaign:

* Suggested affiliation for organisations £30.

* Please make cheques/Postal Orders out to SSM (shorter working week campaign)

Return the slip to SSM, PO Box 980,
Glasgow G14 9QQ

The Public Service Union
GLASGOW (GENERAL) SUB BRANCH



STRATHCLYDE REGION BRANCH
(Former NALGO)

2 Fitzroy Place
Glasgow
G3 7RH
Tel: 041-227 3495

1st March, 1995

Dear Colleague,

BUDGET CUTBACKS BY STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL.

As you may be aware Strathclyde Labour Group has agreed to £70m of cuts in the pipeline affecting all services and jobs.

In response to this the branch is currently arranging for a ballot of members for a day of action on 4th April, 1995 which will include a lobby of the Scottish Office in Edinburgh.

Glasgow (General) Sub Branch has arranged for meetings of all members in the Glasgow Area at the following location on 9th March

12.30pm in the James Moir Hall, Mitchell Theatre
Granville Street, GLASGOW

6.00pm in the James Moir Hall, Mitchell Theatre
Granville Street, GLASGOW

Names of speakers - Donald Brown Unison, FBU, EIS.

The purpose of the meetings is to inform members of the up to date position. At this stage other unions are considering participation in the Day of Action.

I would encourage your attendance at the above meeting.

Yours sincerely,

D. Brown

Donald Brown
Vice Chairperson

JOBs ON THE LINE

**Vote
YES**

**LOBBY THE
SCOTTISH
OFFICE**

APRIL 4TH

STOP THE CUTS

Dear Colleague,

Your employer, Strathclyde Regional Council, faces huge budget cuts imposed by the Scottish Office. £70 million is to be cut at once. 2,000 jobs will go with it.

A further £45 million is to go later in the year from one part or another of the budget. **Your job and the service you work in are at risk as never before.**

Your UNISON branch is now organising for a mass lobby of the Scottish Office on April 4th. Our aim is to highlight the threat to you and the public you serve. As we protest, the Scottish Office will be discussing its final plans for Strathclyde. **The maximum public pressure on them is essential.**

To ensure that is achieved we are balloting the membership for a one day stoppage on April 4th.

On behalf of the branch I am appealing to you to vote YES in the ballot. We need your endorsement to mount a campaign to halt the cuts. We have the support of other trade unions in Strathclyde and of UNISON branches across Scotland.

Now we need your support.

Vote YES for action on April 4th.

Chrissie Carmouche

Branch Secretary



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About the Forum

Last August the first 'Where Now for Scotland?' was held in Glasgow. The event was almost universally felt to be an important step forward by the sponsoring organisations (CPS, Liberation & the SSM) and the individuals attending. The same organisations plus Scottish Militant Labour are sponsoring the 1995 event.

Participants were pleasantly surprised that socialists from widely different backgrounds could debate in a non confrontational atmosphere and actually find a great deal of common ground on the type of powers a Scottish Parliament should have.

Considerable emphasis was placed on unity in action. The Forum held an immediate fundraiser for the striking signalworkers and went on to play a key role in setting up solidarity groups.

The recently launched 'Scottish Campaign for a Shorter Working Week' arose directly from the forum. The sponsoring bodies, along with many others, have worked well together through the Scottish Defiance Alliance - against the Criminal Justice Act.

We are confident we can develop this process further. Join with us in helping to forge a strong, clear socialist voice for the creation of a Scottish Parliament that can meet the needs of the people of Scotland.

About the Sponsors

Communist Party of Scotland

The CPS was formed in 1992 by Communists who felt that the Communist tradition should be preserved but at the same time willing to formulate policies and activities relevant to the 1990's. It brings out a quarterly magazine - Scottish Marxist Voice. Subscription £5 for one year from CPS, 2 Merkland St, Glasgow G11.

Liberation

Liberation is a left nationalist quarterly magazine. It aims to inform, stimulate debate and encourage actions in support of a radical independent Scotland. Most of its editorial team are SNP members. Subscription is £7 for 4 issues from Liberation PO Box 474, Edinburgh EH11 2TQ.

Scottish Militant Labour

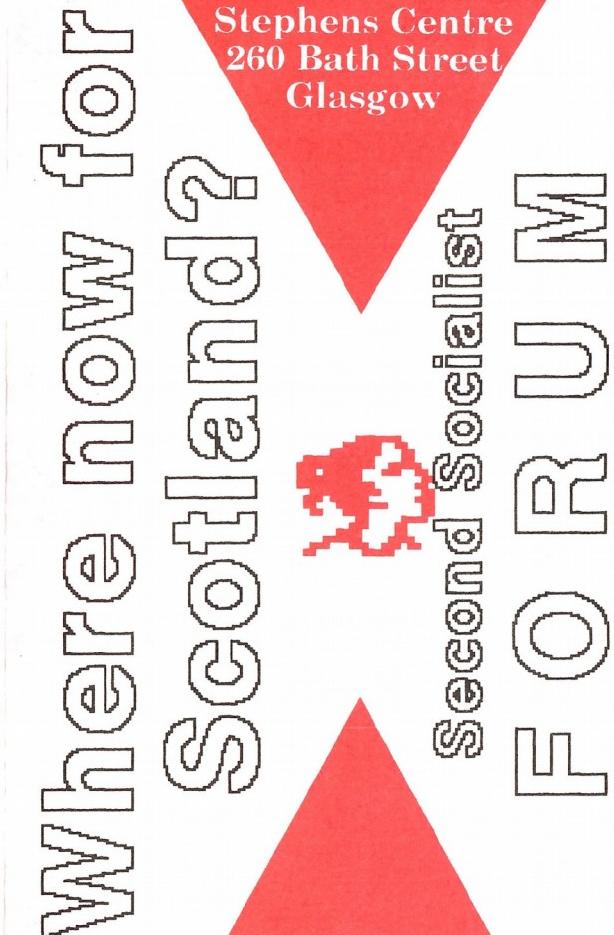
SML was launched after the successful anti Poll Tax campaign. They have also played a key role in the Scottish Defiance Alliance against the Criminal Justice Act. SML is for a Scottish Parliament with far-reaching powers over the economy and social policy. Contact SML PO Box 399, Glasgow G1 5BZ.

Scottish Socialist Movement

The SSM brings people together from different political backgrounds who are for radical democratic socialism, fully incorporating feminism, environmentalism and internationalism. It seeks to link this to the struggle for Scottish self government. It produces a monthly bulletin. Contact PO Box 980, Glasgow G14 9QQ.

Sat 12 August

Main Hall
Renfield Saint
Stephens Centre
260 Bath Street
Glasgow



Sponsors:

Communist
Party of Scotland
Liberation
Scottish Militant Labour
Scottish Socialist Movement

POLICIES & POWERS for SCOTLAND

Womens Demands
Scotland & Europe
Economic Powers

Socialist
Perspectives
on the policies &
powers for
a Scottish Parliament

Introductions from the
sponsoring organisations.

REGISTRATION
10.00 - 10.30 am

SESSION 1
PLENARY DISCUSSION
10.30 - 12.30 pm

SESSION 2
INTRODUCTIONS
& WORKSHOPS

1.30 - 3.00 pm

Speakers from the
Scottish Defiance Alliance
& the Scottish Campaign
for a Shorter Working Week
introduce workshops.

SESSION 3
REPORT BACKS
from workshops and
CLOSING PLENARY
3.00 - 5.00 pm

Left Unity
Electoral Strategy
& a Scottish Parliament
Socialism after Clause IV

DOOMSDAY NO MORE?

Registration

Please register me/us/our organisation for
the forum

Name _____

Address _____

Organisation _____

Telephone _____

Waged £3 Unwaged £1

No of Creche Places Ages of children _____

The creche must be booked by 5 August.

Stall Cost of a stall £5

Name of organisation for the Stall

Strategies for
after the General
Election. Speakers from
the sponsoring
organisations
& discussion

* Please make cheques/Postal Orders out to
SSM (forum)

Return the slip to SSM, PO Box 980,
Glasgow G14 9QQ